

# Towards a Reconstruction of the Pronominal Systems of Proto-Cordilleran, Philippines\*<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Introduction

In an earlier paper (Reid 1974) evidence was presented for a subgroup of Philippine languages labeled Central Cordilleran. This group consisted of the following languages: Isinai, Ifugao, Balangao, Bontok, Kankanay, Kalinga, and Itneg. The Central Cordilleran group (CC) forms part of a much larger subgroup of Philippine languages which is spoken over most of Northern Luzon. This larger subgroup is labeled Cordilleran,<sup>2</sup> and in addition to the Central group mentioned above comprises also a Southern Cordilleran subgroup, and a Northern Cordilleran subgroup. The Southern group (SC) consists of Pangasinan, Inibaloi, Karaw, and the various dialects of Atipulu, Amduntug, Kalanguya, Kallahan, Kayapa, and I-wak spoken in the provinces of Ifugao and Nueva Vizcaya and subsumed here under the name Kallahan. SC probably also includes Ilongot.

Northern Cordilleran (NC) consists of at least the following languages: Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, Isneg, Malaweg, Itawis (also called Itawit), Ilokano, and the languages of the various Negrito groups of Cagayan, Isabela, and Aurora provinces, labeled variously as Agta, Atta, and Dumagat.<sup>3</sup>

The internal relations among the NC languages are not yet well understood although preliminary investigation indicates that Ilokano and Casiguran Dumagat probably form separate branches, not having closer connections to any of the other NC languages. An attempt to subgroup these languages on the basis of shared phonological innovations in conjunction with innovations in the case marking particles and pronominal systems has been attempted by James Tharp (1974).

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<sup>2</sup> Editors' note. In more recent papers, the term Northern Luzon has been used instead of Cordilleran, in that many of the languages in the group are not spoken in the Cordillera Central, but in the lowlands.

<sup>3</sup> See Fox and Flory (1974) for the most up-to-date linguistic map of the Philippines.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the pronoun systems of these three groups (SC, CC, and NC) and to attempt reconstruction of the pronominal systems of the meso-languages and the parent language—Proto-Cordilleran (PC).

## 2. Pronoun Sets

All of the Cordilleran languages have multiple sets of pronouns carrying differing case functions and other syntactic properties. It is convenient to recognize at least three basic case systems, Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique, the Nominative consisting of short and long forms, the Oblique being usually the combination of a particle otherwise marking Oblique personal noun phrases, and one of the Nominative forms.

The syntax of the pronominal systems will not be discussed in this paper. This was briefly presented for the CC languages in Reid (1974), and by Constantino et al. (1967) for Ilokano and Isinai, in addition to Tagalog and Kapampangan, languages which are not generally considered to form part of the Cordilleran subgroup.

Eight pronouns are reconstructible for each set, differing in person and plurality components. First, second and third person singular forms occur with corresponding plurals, including the expected distinction between first person inclusive and exclusive plurals. Although evidence from elsewhere in the Philippines indicates the possibility that Proto-Philippines did not have a distinctive dual form, it is probable that a dual form existed in PC. The dual forms are here labeled '1 + 2P', and the exclusive plural forms are 1P. The use of singular and plural labels is not entirely appropriate, since semantically, dual forms are plural, requiring plural agreement in certain verb and adjectival constructions. Conklin's "minimal" versus "nonminimal" features are descriptively more adequate, however, I have opted to retain the terms singular and plural because of their familiarity.

Long Nominative pronouns consist of two formative segments, an initial segment which is the result of the prefixation of one or more Nominative case-marking particles to the latter segment, which is the pronominal segment.

Short Nominative pronouns consist only of a pronominal segment and this segment is similar to, if not identical to, that of the long forms.

Genitive pronouns are usually either identical to or reduced forms of the short Nominative pronouns.

### 3. PC Pronouns: Internal Evidence

3.1. Tharp (1974) reconstructs the following long form Nominative pronouns for Proto-Northern Cordilleran (PNC):

1s	*si akən	1P	*si kami
2s	*si kaw	2P	*si kamu, *si kayu
1 + 2s	*si kita	1 + 2P	*si kitam
3s	*iya, *V(n)su	3P	*ida

3.2. Reid (1974) reconstructs the following long form Nominative pronouns for Proto-Central Cordilleran (PCC):

1s	*siyakən, *sakʔən <sup>4</sup>	1P	*dakami, *dikami
2s	*siʔita, *sikʔa	2P	*dakayu
1 + 2s	*daʔita, *dita, *data	1 + 2P	*dataku, *ditaku
3s	*siya	3P	*daʔida, *dida

The data upon which these reconstructions are based, are fully presented and discussed in the papers cited, and will not therefore be repeated here. However, a word is in order about the alternations that were reconstructed for PCC. Some of the alternations still exist in some languages, e.g., Bontok freely alternates *daʔita*, *data* ‘1 + 2s’ and *daʔida*, *dida* ‘3P’. Other languages reflect a variant with a *da* formative for some pronouns, but a *di* formative in others, e.g., BLW *diʔni* ‘1P’ (from earlier \*daqni) but *ditaaw* ‘1 + 2P’, IFG *daʔyu* ‘2P’ but *dituʔu* ‘1 + 2P’. In all cases the variation is in the initial, case-marking formative. It is probable that these variants reflect a situation in Pre-CC in which at least the 2s pronoun was marked with a case formative \*siʔi, whereas the dual and plural pronouns were marked with \*daʔi, the *si* and *da* corresponding respectively to the singular and plural personal Nominative case-marking particles. The *ʔi* formative is a reflex of an earlier Nominative marker which by this time had lost its function in the language. There is plenty of external evidence to support the reconstruction of a Nominative case-marking particle \*ʔi for Proto-Cordilleran.

<sup>4</sup> Since completion of Reid (1974), I have decided that the reconstruction \*sakʔən is not PCC, but is of more recent provenance, probably Proto-Nuclear-Cordilleran, the parent language of Bontok-Kankanay, Balangao, and Ifugao. The form that should be reconstructed for PCC 1s pronoun is \*sakən. The glottal stop was apparently introduced into the form by analogy with the 1s form \*sikʔa.

Pre-CC long Nominative pronouns were probably as follows:

1s	*siyakən	1P	*daʔikami
2s	*siʔika	2P	*daʔikayu
1 + 2s	*daʔita	1 + 2P	*daʔitaku
3s	*siya	3P	*daʔida

The pre-CC \*siyakən ‘1s’ is suggested by ITG *diyakən* (Itneg reflected the \*daʔi formative as *di*, except in the 3s, e.g., *dita* ‘1 + 2s’, *dikami* ‘1P’, *dikayu* ‘2P’, and has generalized the *di* to both 1s and 2s forms as well). It should be noted that \*yakin reflects an earlier \*ʔi = akən. All other CC languages reflect a development of \*siyakən to \*sakən (see note 3).

**3.3.** Evidence from Ilongot, Kallahan, Inibaloi, and Pangasinan (see Table 1) suggests that these languages descended from a common ancestor, Proto-Southern Cordilleran (PSC) having the following long Nominative pronouns:

1s	*siyak	1P	*siʔikami
2s	*siʔika	2P	*siʔikayu
1 + 2s	*siʔikita	1 + 2P	*siʔitaku
3s	*siya	3P	*siʔida

It is apparent that Kallahan and Inibaloi share a number of innovative developments. Two of these changes affected the 2s, 1 + 2s, 1P, 2P, and 1 + 2P forms. One was the voicing of the velar obstruents in these forms.<sup>5</sup> The second, and probably subsequent change, was the reduction of the unstressed high front vowel preceding the pronominal formative. This change probably also affected the 3P pronoun.

Prior to these changes, however, other developments occurred which are reflected also in Pangasinan. One was the change of the medial syllable \*-ki- to \*-ka- in \*siʔikita ‘1 + 2s’ and \*siʔikitayu ‘1 + 2P’ producing respectively \*siʔikata and \*siʔikatayu by analogy with the 1P and 2P forms which both begin with the sequence \*siʔika. The analogical change spread also to the 3p form, changing \*siʔida to \*siʔikada.

The inherited 3s pronominal formative was replaced by \*=tu. This form was originally a demonstrative but became the 3s Genitive pronoun in PSC. All the SC languages including Ilongot share this innovation. The displaced \*=ya apparently took the demonstrative function of \*=tu. Note PNG *i = ya*, IBL *sa = ja = y*, and KLNKL

<sup>5</sup> IBL *k̥* (a voiceless, front velar stop) is a regular development of \*g in syllable initial position (see Reid 1974, Section 2).

*hu=ya* ‘this’, each of which shows a reflex of *\*=ya*. The 3s long Nominative then became *\*siʔikatu*, reflected in PNG *sikatu*.

In Kallahan and Inibaloi, *\*siʔga* (< *\*siʔiga* < *\*siʔika*) was reanalyzed as the long form Nominative case formative, and the remaining pronominal segments were equated with the forms in the Genitive pronominal set. Thus, *\*siyak* became *\*siʔga=k* and *\*siʔika* became *\*siʔga=m*. The final *\*=k* and *\*=m* being respectively the Genitive post-vowel variants for 1s and 2s.

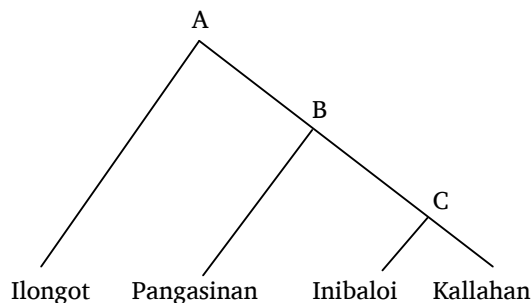
Ilongot and Pangasinan independently reduced the *\*siʔi* initial formative to *si*.

Ilongot shows several developments not shared by any of the other SC languages. *\*siʔikitayu* ‘1 + 2P’ became *sikisi* by regular phonological change (*\*siʔikitayu* > *\*sikitayu* > *\*sikitay* > *\*sikiti* > *sikisi*). Similar rules reduced *\*siʔikayu* ‘2P’ to *siki* (*\*siʔikayu* > *\*sikayu* > *\*sikay* > *siki*).

One further change peculiar to Ilongot is the change of the 3P form from *\*siʔida* to *\*siyay di* by analogy with the 3s form (*\*siʔida* > *\*siya + ʔida* > *\*siyayda* > *siyay di*).

The distribution of innovations among these languages suggests a subgrouping as displayed in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Subgrouping of the Southern Cordilleran languages (based on pronominal innovations)**



The development of the long Nominative pronominal system in SC was probably as displayed in Table 1.

**3.4. A comparison of the long Nominative pronouns reconstructed for pre-CC and for PSC, suggests the following reconstructions for PC:**

1s	*siyakən	1P	*siʔikami
2s	*siʔika	2P	*siʔikayu
1 + 2s	*siʔikita	1 + 2P	*siʔikitayu, *siʔikitaku
3s	*siya	3P	*siʔida

The shape of the final syllable of 1 + 2P is ambiguous since PCC shows a final \* = ku and PSC shows a final \* = yu.

Innovations which characterize pre-CC then, are the change from \*si to \*da on the dual and plural pronouns, and the reduction of the pronominal formative of the 1 + 2s and 1 + 2P pronouns to correspond to the short Nominative pronouns, \* = ta and \* = taku respectively. Ilokano shares both of these innovations (i.e., change from \*si to \*da in the dual and plural pronouns and loss of medial \*-ki- in the 1 + 2s and 1 + 2P pronouns), however, on other grounds, phonological as well as morphological, Ilokano seems to group with the NC languages. Vanoverbergh (1955:73) noted the use in some districts “of *sikami*, *sitayo*, *sita*, and *sikayo* instead of *dakami*, *datayo*, *data*, and *dakayo*”. It is possible that Ilokano has independently changed \*si to \*da on the basis of the same analogy that brought about the change in Pre-CC. The Ilokano change, however, is apparently of more recent origin than that occurring in Pre-CC, since it has not yet replaced entirely the *si* initial forms.

The only pronominal innovation characterizing PSC was the loss of the two final segments from the 1s pronoun, a loss which has since occurred probably independently, in Ilokano, Agta, and Isnag in the Northern Cordilleran subgroup.

An evaluation of the reconstructions suggested above, in the light of Tharp’s reconstructions of Northern Cordilleran long Nominative pronouns and external evidence, provides support for some of the reconstructions but requires a number of revisions in the shape of others.

**Table 1. Development of the Southern Cordilleran long nominative pronoun systems<sup>†</sup>**

	A		B		C
1s	*siyak			>	*siʔgak
2s	*siʔka			>	*siʔgam
1 + 2s	*siʔikita	>	*siʔikata	>	*siʔgata
3s	*siya	>	*siʔikatu	>	*siʔgatu
1p	*siʔikami			>	*siʔgami
2p	*siʔikayu			>	*siʔgayu
1 + 2p	*siʔikitayu	>	*siʔikatayu	>	*siʔgatayu
3p	*siʔida		*siʔikada	>	*siʔgada
	↓		↓		↙ ↘
1s	siʔak		siak		siʔkək      hiʔgak
2s	sika		sika		siʔkəkam      hiʔgam
1 + 2s	sikita		sikata		siʔkəkata      hiʔgata
3s	siya		sikatu		siʔkəkatu      hiʔgatu
1p	sikami		sikami		siʔkəkami      hiʔgami
2p	siki		sikayu		siʔkəkayu      hiʔgayu
1 + 2p	sikisi		sikatayu		siʔkəkataju      hiʔgatayu
3p	siyay di		sikara		siʔkəkara      hiʔgada
	<b>Ilongot</b>		<b>Pangasinan</b>		<b>Inibaloi</b>
					<b>Kayapa</b>
					<b>Kallahan</b>

<sup>†</sup> The letters A-C represent the nodes shown in Figure 1.

#### 4. PC Pronouns: External and PNC Evidence

The following discussion will focus not only on the evidence for the long Nominative pronouns, but also on the short forms, since it appears that the short forms have in some instances become the analogical base for modifying the shape of the long forms. Discussion of Genitive forms will also be given when relevant.

##### 4.1 First person singular (1s)

On the basis of a widely occurring set of cognates, the form \*aku has been reconstructed for PAN (see Dempwolff 1938:13). Dyen (1962:215) reconstructs the form as \*x<sub>3</sub>aku. Note the following languages: Tagalog *ʔako*, Malay *aku*, Tongan *au*, Tsou *aʔo*, Atayal *sakuʔ*, Amis *kakoʔ*, etc. An additional form \*a(ŋ)kən was reconstructed by

Dempwolff with the meaning ‘mine’ or ‘appropriate, acquire’. This form also has reflexes in Philippine languages, e.g., Tagalog *ʔákin* ‘mine’.

None of the Cordilleran languages appears to reflect *\*aku* with a final vowel. Short Nominative pronouns reflect a PC *\*=ak*, the long forms reflect PC *\*akən* (< PAN *\*a(ŋ)kən*). The only evidence presently available to indicate that PC *\*=ak* (as a short Nominative pronoun) is a result of loss of the *\*-u* of PAN *\*aku* rather than the result of substitution of *\*akən* for *\*aku* with subsequent loss of final *\*-ən*, comes from Ilokano. In this language the completive enclitic corresponding to Tagalog *=na* is *ILK =en ~ =n*. The former variant occurs following consonants (e.g., /naládaw/ + /=en/ → *naládawen* ‘It’s already too late’), the latter occurs following vowels (e.g., /naŋankami/ + /=en/ → *nangan kamin* ‘We have already eaten.’). However, following the pronoun *=ak* the enclitic particle is *=on* not *=en* (e.g., /naŋának/ + /=en/ → *nangánakon* ‘I have already eaten.’), apparently from an earlier *\*=aku* + *\*=en* > *\*=akun*.

It is probable that in Proto-Philippines, if not at some earlier date, the contrast between *\*=aku* as a short Nominative pronoun and *\*=akən* as the equivalent pronominal formative in the long Nominative set was already well established. In addition to the evidence that PC developed from such a system, Ivatan (which has been shown by lexicostatistics to be a possible first order subgroup within the Philippines (Dyen 1965, Thomas and Healey 1962), as well as Yami (Ivatan’s sister language on Botel Tobago Island off the south-eastern coast of Formosa), and a number of Manobo languages in Mindanao all show the contrast between first person formatives in long and short Nominative pronouns (e.g., Ivatan, Yami *ʔaku, yakən*; Agusan Manobo, Ilianen Manobo *a, siakən*; Tasaday *a, akən*). Evidence for *=akən* as a long Nominative formative comes also from Subanon, and from Maranao where it appears as the pronominal segment of the Genitive *ʔakən*, Oblique *rakən*, long Nominative *sakən*, but not the short Nominative, which is *ʔaku*.

Of the Cordilleran languages, the full *\*=akən* formative is reflected in the 1s long forms of each of the CC languages. It is also reflected as such in Casiguran Dumagat, Atta, Gaddang, Yogad, Itawis, and Ibanag of the NC languages. However, in all of the SC languages (including Ilongot), and sporadically in the NC languages (Ilokano, Isnag, and Agta) the pronominal formative on the long Nominative form is *=ak* or *=aʔ* rather than a full reflex of *\*=akən*. This reduction probably developed by analogy with the short Nominative pronoun *=ak* (< *\*aku*).



The Genitive 1s is reconstructed as PC  $*=ku$  following consonant final stems, and  $*=k$  following vowel final stems. They are reflected as such in all SC and CC languages, and in all the NC languages except Casiguran Dumagat. Evidence from NC and SC languages, as well as from languages outside these groups (even from languages as far south as Timogon Murut in Sabah) shows reflexes of  $*ta$  for Genitive 1s when in combination with one of the short Nominative pronouns in a “passive” sentence, e.g.,

**(1) Timogon Murut**

potoyon = takamin.  
kill = GEN.1s + NOM.2s  
'I will kill you (SG.).'

$*ta$  is therefore reconstructed as one of the PC forms for Genitive 1s.

**4.2. Second person singular (2s)**

On the basis of a number of forms in Formosa, Dyen (1965:302) reconstructed PAN  $*iXu( )$  ‘thee, thou’.<sup>6</sup> Dahl (1973:122) reconstructs both  $*ka$  and  $*(i)Su$  for the same pronoun. In addition, Dahl states that the two forms frequently appear in combination giving rise to the contracted  $*kaw$  which Dempwolff (1938:76) assigned to PAN. The Formosan evidence clearly supports Dahl’s statement with such forms as Kanakanabu *iikásu*, Kuvalan *?aisu?*, Amis *kíso?*, Rukai *kəsó:?*, etc. (Ferrell 1969:187). The Kanakanabu form and Tagalog *?ikaw*, if not reflexes of an earlier  $*ikaSu$  were both formed on the same structural principal of a case marker *i* plus a pronominal formative. For Proto-Philippines then, it is probable that  $*kaw$  was not a full pronoun but the pronominal formative on the long Nominative 2s pronoun,  $*=ka$  is widely attested throughout the Philippines, including all of the Cordilleran languages as the short Nominative 2s pronoun.

In NC a final *-w* appears on the 2s long Nominative in about five languages and appears on Tharp’s PNC reconstruction of 2s. It is necessary then to revise the PC reconstruction to  $*si?ikaw$ . Both PSC and PCC are presumed to have lost the final segment by analogy with the corresponding short Nominative pronoun  $*=ka$ .

The Genitive 2s is reconstructed as PC  $*=mu$  following consonant final stems, and  $*=m$  following vowel final stems. They are reflected as such in most of the

<sup>6</sup>  $*X$  represents a reconstructed hiatus or “non-vowel” with a sibilant reflex in some Formosan languages (Dyen 1965:30).

Cordilleran languages. In NC, Gaddang and Yogad have replaced  $*=mu$  with  $=nu$ , retaining the  $=m$  reflex of the variant following vowel-final stems. The same replacement has taken place, apparently independently, and relatively recently, in the CC languages Kalinga and Balangao. The replacement has not occurred in Itneg, a language which subgroups closely with Kalinga. Tharp (1974) reconstructs  $*-nu \sim *-m$  as the PNC forms for 2s. However, the evidence suggests that  $*=nu$  was a 2P form which developed from earlier  $*niyu$  (see section 0 below). Subsequently the 2P form was extended to replace the 2s form, a development commonly found in languages of the world.  $=nu$  still exists as the 2P form in Isnag, Ibanag, and Itawis of the NC group.

#### 4.3. Dual person (1 + 2s)

In PAN there was apparently no distinction between the dual form of a pronoun (1 + 2s) and the first person inclusive plural (1 + 2P) form. Dempwolff (1938:81) reconstructed PAN  $*kita$  with the meaning ‘we (inclusive)’. Philippine languages which have developed a distinction have retained a reflex of PAN  $*kita$  with the restricted meaning of ‘1 + 2s’ and have added a third syllable to the form to create a plural form meaning ‘1 + 2P’, e.g., Batak *kita* ‘1 + 2s’, *kitami* ‘1 + 2P’, Kalagan *kita* ‘1 + 2s’, *kitadun* ‘1 + 2P’; Western Bukidnon Manobo *sikita* ‘1 + 2s’, *sikitaw* ‘1 + 2P’.

This evidence along with the NC reconstruction supports the postulated PC  $*siʔikita$  ‘1 + 2s’.

The Genitive ‘1 + 2s’ is reconstructed as  $*=ta$ . It is reflected as such in all the Cordilleran languages except Ilongot which has *si* for both ‘1 + 2s’ and ‘1 + 2P’. This form is a normal phonological development in Ilongot of  $*=tayu$ , which is reconstructed for PSC ‘1 + 2P’.

#### 4.4. Third person singular (3s)

The form reconstructed by Dempwolff (1938:67) for PAN is  $*ija$ . This probably contains a case formative  $*i$ , and is reflected as such in the Ivatan long Nominative *ʔiya* and Mamanwa *ʔiza* ‘3s’. The formative  $*ya$  formative occurs apart from  $*ʔi$  in various other Philippine languages, e.g., Samal *ia*, Tagbanwa (Aborlan) *kan-ya*, Tausug *s-iah* ‘3s’. The reconstruction of PC  $*siya$  appears to be supported. The short Nominative 3s pronoun is widely attested as  $\emptyset$ . It is reconstructed as such for PNC, PCC, and PSC, and therefore also for PC.

#### 4.5. First person exclusive plural (1P)

Dempwolff (1938:74) reconstructed \*kami ‘we (exclusive)’. The form is widely reflected both in the Philippines and elsewhere. It is a short Nominative pronoun as well as the pronominal formative on the long Nominative pronouns. It is reconstructed for PNC and is strongly supported as the PC reconstruction.

The Genitive 1P is reconstructed as \*=mi. It is reflected as such in all the Cordilleran languages.

#### 4.6. Second Person Plural (2P)

Consideration of the variety of 2P forms in NC as well as in languages outside the Cordilleran groups considerably complicates the reconstruction of this pronoun for PC.

Reconstructions for PAN include Dempwolff’s \*kamu, Dahl’s \*mu, and Dyen’s \*mi?, \*mu?, and \*miu?. Dempwolff’s reconstruction, with its \*ka formative, was probably a Nominative form and is fairly widely attested as such in Philippine languages, particularly in languages outside the Cordilleran group (e.g., Bikol, Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Tausug, Hanunoo, Batak, Tagbanwa, Mamanwa, Kalagan, Mansaka, etc.). Its presence in the Cordilleran group is restricted to Ibanag in NC which has =*kamu* and *sikamu* respectively for the short and long Nominative 2P forms. However, pronouns which apparently derive from such forms are found in Casiguran Dumagat (= *kam* and *sikam*), Yogad (= *kam* and *sikam*), and Agta (= *kam* and *ikamuy*). On the basis of this evidence Tharp (1974) reconstructs \*kamu and \*si kamu for PNC. However, he also reconstructs \*kayu and \*si kayu for the same pronouns to account for evidence from the other NC languages, Atta (= *kayu* and *sikayu*), Gaddang (= *kayu* and *ikkayu*), Ilokano (= *kayu* and *dakayu*), Isneg (= *kayo* and *dakayu*), and Itawis (= *kayu* and *ikayu*).

It is probable that \*=mu was the earliest of the various forms that have been reconstructed for the Genitive PAN 2P. After \*=mu had extended its meaning to encompass 2s, a \*=yu formative was added to 2P to create a new singular-plural distinction in the second person. This change not only affected the Genitive pronouns but also the Nominative pronouns producing the following:

Genitive	2P	*=muyu
Nominative	2P	*=kamuyu

This Genitive form is reflected as =*muyu* in Botolan Sambal and as *muyuh* in Kelabit (Northern Borneo). With loss of the first vowel and syllabification of the glide,

it appears as *miiyu* in Itbayaten and *=miu* in Baler Dumagat, Tondano (Sulawesi) as well as in Palauan. Chamorro reflects the form as *mizu* (< \*miyu). Casiguran Dumagat *=moy* and Agta *=muy* reflect it with loss of the final vowel, the result of pressure towards monosyllabism in the Genitive pronouns in these languages (e.g., DGTG: *=ki*, *=mo*, *=na*, *=mi*, *=moy*, *=tam*, *=di*). Languages in the south of the Philippines, such as the Mansakic group (Mansaka, and Kalagan or Tagakaolo) as well as Mamanwa have forms which are probably innovative developments of \*=*muyu*. These languages reflect a \*=*mayu*, which possibly developed by analogy with the vowel sequence in the reduced Nominative 2P \*=*kamu*. Note the following Mamanwa Nominative and Genitive pronoun matches: 1s *haʔu*, *naqu*; 1 + 2s/P *kita*, *nita*; 3s *ʔiza*, *naʔiza*; 2s *kamo*, *mazo*; 3P *siran*, *niran*. Dyen's suggestions (1974) that the Mansakic \*=*mayu* possibly reflects a PAN \*=*məyu* is dubious because each of these languages reflects PAN \*ə as *i*.

The Nominative 2P \*=*kamuyu* is not known to be reflected directly as such in any language, with loss of the medial vowel it appears as Chamorro *hamzu* (< \*kamyu), and with syllabification of the glide as Palauan *kəmzu*. The \*=*muyu* sequence is also apparent in Timugon Murut *ramuyun* 2P long Nominative. The reconstruction of Nominative 2P \*=*kamuyu* is necessary also to account for the divergent developments in PC mentioned above, producing, with various degrees of reduction, *=kamuy*, *=kamu*, *=kam*, and with haplogy of the medial syllable *=kayu*.

The CC and SC Genitive 2P is almost invariably *-yu*, matching the Nominative 2P *=kayu* in these languages. The presence of *=kayu* in Tagalog and Kapampangan, languages of Luzon that probably do not belong to the Cordilleran group, is probably best accounted for by borrowing from that group.

A puzzling development in some of the Northern Cordilleran languages, and one which shows a parallel development in the Manobo group as well as sporadically elsewhere is the appearance of *=nu* for the Genitive 2P. In NC all the non-Negrito languages, except Ilokano (that is excluding the Dumagat languages as well as Agta and Atta) have *=nu* for either the Genitive 2P or the 2s forms. It is assumed that this innovation began in 2P and spread in some languages to 2s. A possible line of development was from \*=*miyu*, reanalyzed as \*=*niyu* (Genitive marker \**ni* + \*=*yu*), a form commonly found in the Philippines. \*=*niyu* then became \*=*nu*, probably on the same analogical basis that produced the forms \*=*niya* (\**ni* + \*=*ya*) and \**na* for 3s. It is perhaps significant that disyllabic forms such as *=niya* '3s' and *=niyu* '2P'

occur together in many languages (e.g., Tagalog, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Hiligaynon, Tausug, Hanunoo, and Maranao) whereas there appear to be no languages having =*nu* ‘2p’ which also have =*niya* ‘3p’.

The PC Genitive 2p is reconstructed as \*=muyu. The PC short Nominative 2p is reconstructed as \*=kamuyu, and the corresponding long Nominative as \*siʔikamuyu.

#### 4.7. First person inclusive plural (1 + 2p)

As indicated above, many Philippine languages appear to have developed a dual pronoun (1 + 2s) by appropriating PAN \**kita* ‘1p’ for the dual and forming inclusive plurals by suffixing a “plural” formative to the dual form, =*don* in Sarangani Manobo and Kalagan, =*yu* in SC, Ilokano, Itneg, and Tagalog and =*da* in Isneg and Itawis. Other Philippine languages appear to have suffixed other formatives, e.g., =*ku* in CC, and =*mu* or =*m* in many languages of NC and fairly extensive outside the Cordilleran subgroup, including Kapampangan and the languages of Mindoro. Maranao *siktanu* probably has a similar source.

Considering reconstructions for PNC, PCC, and PSC, PCC \**taku* appears to be exclusively shared by CC and is eliminated as a possible PC reconstruction. Although PSC \*=*kitayu* also appears in Ilokano =*tayú* and Tagalog =*táy*,<sup>7</sup> the lack of similar cognates in languages apparently more closely related to these two languages than the SC languages, raises the possibility that borrowing has taken place with subsequent loss of the *ki* syllable. If Ilokano did not borrow this form from an SC language (e.g., Inibaloi or Pangasinan, or one of the ancestral stages of these languages) but inherited it, along with PSC from PC, Ilokano would need to be considered a separate first order branch of Cordilleran, a hypothesis which is not strongly supported by other data.

It was noted above that Tagalog had probably borrowed =*kayu* ‘2p’ from a Cordilleran language. It is probable that Tagalog =*táy* is likewise a borrowing, since the languages with which it is most closely related (Bikol, Cebuano, Samar-Leyte, Kinaray-a, etc.) all reflect =*kita* ‘1p’. These languages do not distinguish a dual pronoun.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This form also occurs in Itneg, a CC language, but it is probably a borrowing from Ilokano (see Reid 1974).

<sup>8</sup> *tayuh* also appears in Kelabit (Northern Borneo).

The most likely candidate for PC 1 + 2P is *\*=kitam*, the form reconstructed for PNC. This form has a fairly wide distribution outside of Cordilleran and is therefore supported by external evidence.

Another possibility for PC that cannot be decisively eliminated is that PC did not distinguish a dual pronoun and that the distinction developed after the split into Northern, Central, and Southern groups. This would account for the different reconstructions required for the proto-languages of these groups. In fact the distinction may have developed in the NC languages after Ilokano had split off (Tharp makes Ilokano a first order branch in NC) providing a motivation for the Ilokano borrowing of *=tayu*.

However, because of the occurrence of apparent cognates in Mindoro and elsewhere, *\*siʔikitam* is reconstructed for PC in place of the forms discussed above. The Genitive 1 + 2P is reconstructed as *\*=tam*.

#### 4.8. Third person plural (3P)

Dempwolff (1938:152) reconstructed *\*t'ida* as the PAN third person plural pronoun. Dahl (1973) reconstructs it as *\*t'ida*. Reflexes of this form in Philippine languages as *sila*, *sira*, or *sida* are numerous and function as long Nominatives. They can be considered to consist of a case formative *si* and a 3P formative which occurs both as a short Nominative and a Genitive pronoun.

Although the case formative appears in many languages as *si*, in a number of other languages it appears as *ʔi*, e.g. Kapampangan *ila* and Ilokano *ʔida*. The reconstruction of PC *\*siʔida* is thus supported by the external evidence.

### 5. The Oblique Pronouns

Evidence from many of the Cordilleran languages as well as from languages outside the group clearly indicates that the Oblique pronouns were constructed with a marker for Oblique personal noun phrases, and the Nominative pronominal formatives. The Oblique markers are reconstructed for PNC by Tharp (1974) as *\*kani* (singular) and *\*kada* (plural). They are reconstructed for PCC by Reid (1974) as *\*kan(i)* (singular) and *\*kan da* (plural). For PNC, Tharp reconstructs the Oblique forms, singular and plural, with the marker *\*kani* plus the reconstructed Nominative pronominal formatives. In PCC, the Oblique was formed with the *\*kan* Oblique marker in combination with the long Nominative pronouns. The Oblique pronouns of PNC are assumed to more closely reflect the PC system than do the PCC pronouns.

## 6. Conclusion

The pronominal systems of Proto-Cordilleran are reconstructed as follows:

### I. Long Nominative Pronouns

1s	*siyakən	1P	*siʔikami
2s	*siʔikaw	2P	*siʔikamuyu
1 + 2s	*siʔikita	1 + 2P	*siʔikitam
3s	*siya	3P	*siʔida

### II. Short Nominative Pronoun

1s	* = ak	1P	* = kami
2s	* = ka	2P	* = kamuyu
1 + 2s	* = kita	1 + 2P	* = kitam
3s	*∅	3P	* = da

### III. Genitive Pronouns

1s	* = ku ~ * = k, * = ta	1P	* = mi
2s	* = mu ~ * = m	2P	* = muyu
1 + 2s	* = ta	1 + 2P	* = tam
3s	* = na	3P	* = da

### IV. Oblique Pronouns

1s	*kanyakən	1P	kanikami
2s	*kanikaw	2P	kanikamuyu
1 + 2s	*kanikita	1 + 2P	kanikitam
3s	*kanya	3P	kanida

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